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10. [Ed., the first two sentences are omitted.] Whenever I told the Tapirapé that among other tribes the woman would become ill or even die if she were to eat of the animals whose flesh is forbidden to her, I was told that it would not harm a Tapirapé woman to eat the animals whose flesh, as a rule, is eaten only by men. According to Kamairabó, a woman will not eat of such flesh of her own accord. This means that in this case the abstentions are not connected with the supernatural. Actually, the mammals, birds, reptiles, and fish regarded as most delicious, not only by the Tapirapé but by most other Indians and also by the Whites, are all eaten by the women of this Tupi tribe, while as a rule the animals they do not eat are those that are not prized by us either. Although it may be hazardous to look for a relationship [562] between the concept of the edible and the social status of the sexes, it is appropriate to mention: (a) among the Chamakoko the woman plays a predominant role (Baldus 1, 64); (b) Tapirapé culture, in its essential traits, reveals a male preponderance; (c) important aspects of Kaingang culture disclose an equality between the sexes.

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11. As far as the concept of the edible is concerned, age has less importance than sex among the Tapirapé and Cherente, while it has very little importance among the Kaingang and none among the Karajá. When listing the animals eaten exclusively by males, the Tapirapé mentioned for the most part that only "men" eat them, specifying in two cases (the common ani, No. 74, and the guira cuckoo, No. 75) that "men and boys" eat them, and stating about the rest that "men do, boys don't." According to this, the animals eaten only by "grown men" are: the small anteater (No. 4), the tapiti (No. 6), the serelepe (No. 11), the capybara (No. 16), the jabiru (No. 47), the owl (No. 60), the woodpecker (No. 62), the kingfisher (No. 64), the swallow (No. 66), the potoo (No. 67), the macaws and parrots (Nos. 69-71), the oriole (No. 78), the jay (No. 79), the japu (No. 80), the iguana (No. 90), the frog (No. 100), and the horned frog (No. 102). Concerning the hoatzin (No. 61), the Tapirapé stated that only the old people eat it, and concerning the motmot (No. 63), they said that this bird is eaten exclusively by adults. [Ed., a sentence is omitted.]

12. The animals not eaten by any Tapirapé are: the bat (No. 1), the white porpoise (No. 17), the wild dog (No. 18), the river

poles. A large pot full of water is placed nearby to wash the mother and child. If the confinement is difficult, a woman presses the mother's belly until the child comes out. The baby is received in the arms of another woman who waits beneath the mother. The umbilical cord is severed with a cane shiver, and the afterbirth is buried. Both father and mother abstain from any food for one day. Both stay in their nets "until the loss of blood ceases, that is, often for several days." There are no food abstentions for the future parents prior to the birth. For about two years after the birth of the child, the parents give up peanuts and bananas. In addition, the father frequently abstains from those animal foods that are never eaten by the woman, especially tapir, marsh deer, rhea, and alligator, until the child is almost six years old. Only if he is a shaman may he eat of everything. The wife of a shaman, however, does not share this privilege.

The Tapirapé believe that the child will die if these abstentions are not observed. They say that in this case death would not be caused by an evil sorcerer, as they usually believe, but by the food that should not be consumed and that turns evil when it is eaten. And they add that in such cases the Whites have many medicines that might save the child, while the Tapirapé do not have any, and so among them the child would be lost. [123:54] When I offered them deer meat, which is coveted by all Tampiitawa men (perhaps because it is a type of game that, although abundant, is seldom killed without firearms), it was not accepted by the fathers of one-year-old children. Even Urukumy who, as a shaman, could have eaten the meat, was careful to pass it on to someone else after courteously accepting it from me.

The abstention from bananas and peanuts is impressive when we consider the important role played by these foods in the Tapirapé diet. It is possible that the high mortality among children during the first two years of life may have led to such onerous rules. Actually, these Indians assert that their Karajá neighbors and the Whites eat of anything when their child is ill, while Tapirapé parents, in such cases, subsist exclusively on mahioc flour and maize and manioc cauí, even when the child is older than six.

The behavior of Indian parents toward the newborn recalls to some extent a custom of the colonists of São Bonifácio, in the state of Santa Catarina, who come for the most part from Westphalia.

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551 Catarina, Xokleng [Shokleng] or Aveikoma [Aweikoma], studied by Henry (50). [Ed., end of Vol. 124.]

[127:231] CHILDHOOD

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855 Father Fernão Cardim (310) wrote of the Tupinambá: "There is nothing parents love more than their own children, and he who does something for the children can obtain anything from the parents." Roughly, this sentence could be applied to nearly all Brazilian tribes and to the Tapirapé among them. This love is
855 manifested in the understanding with which the adults treat the children. An Indian father would never answer his child's question with: "This is grownup stuff you can't understand," thus destroying, in the fashion of certain White fathers, the trust with which the child seeks out his most learned friend. The Indian father does not speak to the child with an air of superiority, and consequently there is no chasm between them, such as frequently separates children from adults among us.

In fact, a Tapirapé will show patience toward a child even before he reaches the age of asking for explanations. I shall never forget the attitude of Vuanomanchí when a small child seated in his lap urinated on his bare legs. No fuss! This worthy family man did not even get up. He took a piece of straw from the ground and pushed down the liquid with it. He neither scrubbed nor washed himself. He uttered no word and made no motion that might disturb the child.

[127:232] Nor shall I forget the behavior of Maeyma during the illness of his little girl. Several women were weeping around the girl's hammock, and Maeyma was the only man who was crying. Seated in his hammock, he covered his face with his hands and sobbed. He seemed to have lost weight during the short period of
[262] his child's illness. As befits a mindful father, he ate nothing during
[755] this time except for a little maize cauí and manioc flour. On the following day, when the girl seemed to have improved, Maeyma, lying in the hammock held her like something breakable, and when he moved his hands he did so gingerly.

•794 In the Tapirapé tribe, as in many others, the intimate and con-
855 tinuous connection between child and parents is acknowledged and

855 respected by the latter through abstentions to which they submit
[794] for the child's sake over a long period of time, and not only when
the child is sick. The period of physical contact also lasts longer
853 than among us. Although the statement of Father Vicente de
[114] Salvador (37), according to which certain Tupinambá mothers
[171] nursed their children "seven or eight years" is exaggerated, we
may assume that the same thing occurred among those Tupi as we
observed among the Tapirapé and numerous other Brazilian tribes,
that is to say, a child who already plays and runs about with other
children without adult supervision and who still nurses at his mother's
[171] breast. According to Lipkind (2, 187), Karajá children sleep with
513 their mother until they stop nursing. In Tamplitaua, I found one
boy and one girl, each a year old, two girls of three years, and
one girl of four years who slept with both parents in the same net
in 1935, and two girls of one year who did so in 1947. In 1935,
I found one girl of a few months, one girl of less than a year, one
girl a little over a year, and one boy of three who slept with their
mother, and in 1947 I found one boy of one year, one boy of two,
and one boy of four who did the same. I found one girl and one
boy of four and one girl of six who slept with their father in 1935
(the mother slept in an adjoining hammock with a smaller child)
and one boy of two who did so in 1947. In that same year, a girl
of about 10 slept with her father, a man of 35, while his wife,
about seven months pregnant, who was not the girl's mother, slept
in the next hammock. And in 1935, a boy of six slept with his
mother's older sister while the mother slept in another house with
her husband, who was not the boy's father.

The Tapirapé adorn the children with special care. I showed
301 in Chapter 6 (Photo. 13) how even before the birth they make
954 tamankurá for a child's ankles. When he is born, they proceed to
adorn him with the traditional ornaments of the tribe, [127:233]
and in addition they hang beads obtained from the Whites around his
[422] neck. Like everything else they may give him, these beads are
acknowledged henceforth as the child's property. A museum collec-
tor may sometimes have difficulty obtaining an object owned ex-
clusively by a child not yet old enough to understand his wish.

I was moved when I saw a Tapirapé mother attempt to protect
854 her weeks-old baby against the strong noon sun while crossing the
village plaza. She held it close against her abdomen and ran bent

3: Wagley E-5 (1939-1953) 1955
SP22 Tapirapé SP22

with so few people holding the status positions of aboriginal Tapirapé society much specialized knowledge will be lost. This is true of shamanism, as explained above, and it is true of the weaving of baskets for which Tapirapé men were justly famous before 1940. In 1953, only two men of the tribe knew the art of basket making. In aboriginal times, it was a technique which men learned after adolescence (Tapirapé boys were not expected to learn the manly arts), and with the death of so many older men and the disintegration of Tapirapé society, few young men were able to study. Both of the young men who did learn produced baskets which in 1940 would have been considered distinctly inferior and few of the young men in 1953 showed an inclination to learn the art. Like many other aspects of the culture, Tapirapé basketry will probably be a "lost art" within a generation.

Before 1940, one of the striking aspects of Tapirapé culture recorded by both Baldus and myself was the complex set of rules governing food taboos. According to aboriginal Tapirapé culture, women and children are forbidden to eat venison as well as many other specific meats. Nowadays the Tapirapé frequently have beef, which they receive by trade from the Brazilian around the Indian post. As might be suspected, beef is equated with venison and it is taboo to Tapirapé women. Likewise, Tapirapé men who are the fathers of small children may eat neither venison nor beef. One Tapirapé male explained that "Even when we were hungry our women would not eat beef." But in view of their experience with other cultures (i. e., Carajá and Brazilian), such taboos are growing weaker. Hidden from their husbands, several Tapirapé women tested beef for the first time when offered it by the wife of the Indian officer, and several females have taken to eating it (and even venison) at the Indian Post pleading that their secret be kept from their husbands. And one Tapirapé male, the father of an infant, argued while eating venison that the taboo was not a logical one. Food taboos are still kept but

could come quietly to us at night to drink water, to ask for something to eat, and even to sleep in an extra hammock we had for visitors. His affairs were evidently extensive, for he once divided all of the adult women of the village into two categories—those "I know how to talk with" (i.e., to seduce) and those "I do not know how to talk with." There were many with whom he "could talk."

Unfortunately, by late November of 1939, I knew too much about Champukwi's affairs either for his comfort or for mine. His wife sometimes came to my house to ask if I knew where he had gone (I could generally guess), and once an irate husband even came to inquire of his whereabouts. His Don Juan activities had evidently increased. His friendship with me caused him trouble with other Tapirapé who were envious of the presents he received. The story was circulated that he had stolen a pair of scissors which, in fact, I had given to him. Moreover, several people caught colds, and he was accused of bringing the infection from Furo de Pedra (actually it was probably transmitted by the frontiersman who had helped transport us to the village in November). Champukwi sought revenge by cutting down one of the main supports of the men's house, which promptly caved in. No one died or was seriously injured and the destruction of the men's house was soon forgotten since it is normally rebuilt each year. However, people continued to criticize Champukwi, much of their criticism revolving around his relationship with me. There are no realms of esoteric secrets in Tapirapé culture (as there are in many cultures) that must not be revealed to an outsider; there is only the "secret" of the men from the women that the masked dancers are not supernatural beings but merely masquerading men, but I had been fully and openly brought into this "secret." I was, moreover, exceedingly careful in conversation never to refer to any bit of personal information that some informant, Champukwi or another, had told me. But rumors were rife in the small village—that I was angry and would soon leave (I was by then a valuable asset), that Champukwi told me lies about others, that I refused to give a bushknife to a household leader because Champukwi had urged me not to do so (I refused because I had already given him one bushknife), and the like.

Champukwi reacted moodily, often violently, to this situation. I could no longer count on his visits nor on our research interviews. He now visited us with a glum look on his face, and when he was